

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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R 111810Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7436

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS UNN

USMISSION NATO

USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS PARIS 6112

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR/FR

SUBJECT: IS FRANCE 'LESS ALONE' AMONG THE NINE?

REF: PARIS 6019 AND 6026 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: TWO PARIS NEWSPAPERS OVER WEEKEND SUGGESTED THAT FRANCE NOW FEELS LESS ISOLATED THAN BEFORE AMONG EEC PARTNERS IN ITS ATTITUDE TOWARDS U.S. ONE OF THESE, LE MONDE, CITED SENTIMENT IN BONN AND THE HAGUE IN SUPPORT OF THIS VIEW. WHILE NOTING THAT BASIC "ATLANTICISM" OF OTHER EIGHT EEC MEMBERS HAS NOT CHANGED AND THAT SOME COUNTRIES COULD NOT JOIN FRANCE IN JOBERT'S CHOICE BETWEEN "DIGNITY" AND PRESENCE OF U.S.

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FORCES IN EUROPE, LE MONDE FELT JOBERT'S RECENT RADIO INTERVIEW

WOULD HELP CLARIFY IMPORTANT "DEBATE" ON THIS SUBJECT. GAULLIST PAPER SAID FRENCH POLICY NOT AT ALL ANTI-AMERICAN, AIMS AT DEMONSTRATING "ANGRY AND OUTDATED" NATURE OF U.S. POLICY TOWARD EUROPE. END SUMMARY.

1. EDITORIALS IN TWO PARIS NEWSPAPERS IN PAST 48 HOURS SUGGEST THAT FRANCE NOW FEELS "A BIT LESS ALONE" THAN BEFORE AMONG HER EEC PARTNERS, AS LE MONDE PUT IT, IS HER ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE AMERICAN "BIG BROTHER". AS EVIDENCE, THE NEWSPAPER CITED SENTIMENT IN BONN AND THE HAGUE; THE GERMANS ARE "ASTONISHED AT THE CRITICISM DIRECTED AT THEM" BY MR. KISSINGER WHEN IT WAS THEY WHO HAD INFORMED HIM BEFORE THE FACT OF EUROPEAN INTENTIONS TOWARD THE ARABS; AND THE DUTCH PRESS -- NORMALLY "OUTSPOKEN AGAINST FRENCH POLICY" -- FINDS THAT FRANCE IS "MORE EUROPEAN THAN NORTH AMERICA" AND THAT IDEA OF EURO-ARAB COOPERATION "IS NOT SO BAD, AFTER ALL". FURTHER, LE MONDE OBSERVED WASHINGTON'S REQUEST TO POSTPONE THE WORKING MEETING ON A US-EEC DECLARATION WAS PROBABLY A GESTURE OF "BAD HUMOR" TOWARD THE COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE, RATHER THAN TO FRANCE ALONE.

2. BUT IT IS TOO SOON FOR FRENCH DIPLOMACY TO CLAIM "VICTORY", CAUTIONED LE MONDE -- THE "FUNDAMENTAL CHOICE BY OTHER EIGHT EEC MEMBERS FOR "ATLANTICISM", A CHOICE REAFFIRMED AT WASHINGTON CONFERENCE, HAS NOT CHANGED. STILL, PAPER SAID, THESE COUNTRIES DO NOT INTEND TO ALLOW OVERPRESSED U.S. DEMANDS TO JEOPARDIZE EEC'S "SLENDER BUT INDISPUTABLE PROGRESS" ACHIEVED RECENTLY IN DOMAIN OF POLITICAL COOPERATION. "BEYOND THIS," ADDED THE EDITORIAL, "IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF NO ONE IN EUROPE TO CHOOSE THE AMERICAN CAMP TOO OPENLY AGAINST ARAB STATES WHOSE SENSITIVITIES NEED NO FURTHER DEMONSTRATION".

3. LE MONDE DOUBTED THAT FRANCE'S PARTNERS WOULD FOLLOW HER INTO THE DELICATE TERRAIN WHERE -- AS JOBERT SAID IN RADIO INTERVIEW CONTAINED REFTELS -- THE DIGNITY OF FRANCE TAKES PRIORITY OVER MAINTENANCE OF U.S. FORCES IN EUROPE. FOR MOST EUROPEANS, GERMANS ABOVE ALL, THESE TROOPS ARE SINE QUA NON CONDITION OF SECURITY -- POMPIDOU HIMSELF SAID IN REYKJAVIK THAT THIS SEEMED TO HIM "OF EXTREME IMPORTANCE", SAID LE MONDE. THUS, JOBERT'S WORDS SEEMED TO THE NEWSPAPER TO BE AN "INNOVATION" WHICH NOT ONLY "FITS BETTER WITH THE INDEPENDENT POLICY PURSUED UNCLASSIFIED

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BY FRANCE BUT SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO CLARIFYING AN ESSENTIAL DEBATE."

4. THAT DEBATE, FOR LE MONDE, SEEMS TO BE AS FOLLOWS: "EITHER THE U.S. MAINTAINS ITS TROOPS IN EUROPE BECAUSE ITS OWN SECURITY AND INTERESTS ARE INVOLVED -- IN WHICH CASE IT IS FOR THE U.S. TO DECIDE THE NATURE AND SIZE OF THIS FORCE, AND TO PAY FOR IT. OR THE PRESENCE OF U.S. TROOPS IS A CHARITY AGREED TO BY THE

EUROPEANS. THIS IS SOMEWHAT THE IMPORESSION GIVEN BY RESPON-
SIBLE AMERICAN AUTHORITIES WHEN THEY WANT TO 'GLOBALIZE' TRANS-
ATLANTIC RELATIONS, IN OTHER WORDS TO EXCHANGE SECURITY GUARANTEES
FOR CONCESSIONS IN OTHER AREAS". MAYBE, SAID LE
MONDE, THA LATTER ALTERNATIVE IS WELL-FOUNDED. IF SO, "IT'S HARD
TO SEE HOW THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY COULD AFFIRM ITS AUTONOMY
VIS-A-VIS THE UNITED STATES."

5. JOBERT'S REMARKS IN RADIO INTERVIEW WERE TERMED BY GAULLIST
PARTY PAPER LA NATION AS "CLEARER-THAN-EVER EXPLANATIONS"
OF "THE CURIOUS TIES THE U.S. WOULD LIKE TO ESTABLISH, ALMOST
BY FORCE, BETWEEN ITSELF AND EUROPE". FRANCE'S PARTNERS AND FRIENDS,
SAID THE PAPER'S DIRECTOR IN A FRONT-PAGE ANALYSIS, HAD BEEN
SAYING THAT PARIS WAS GOING TOO FAR. "BUT TODAY IT IS OUR ALWAYS-
HESITANT EUROPEAN PARTNERS WHO ARE BEGINNING TO MURMUR TO EACH OTHER
TAHT IT IS MR. KISSINGER WHO IS GOING TOO FAR... FRANCE WAS THE
FIRST, AND THE ONLY COUNTRY, TO MAKE A VERY PRECISE ANALYSIS IN
ORDER TO SHOW -- WITHOUT THE LEAST HOSTILITY -- THE ANGRY AND
OUTDATED CHARACTER OF THESE FORCIBLE TIES WHICH SEEMS TO BE MR.
KISSINGER'S PERSONAL POLICY, AND THE FORMIDABLE WEIGHT OF THE U.S.
WITH WHICH HE INTENDS TO BREAK EUROPE."

6. THUS IT IS CLEAR WHAT POMPIDOU MEANT RECENTLY, SAID LA
NATION, WHEN HE SAID THAT AT PRESENT, "FOREIGN POLICY IS MAJOR".
HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY RESTS ON POMPIDOU, PAPER WENT ON, AND HE
HAS GIVEN JOBERT "ORDERS FOR FIRMNESS". THIS POLICY IS NOT AT ALL
ANTI-AMERICAN, ARTICLE SAID, AND JOBERT HAS BEEN CAREFUL TO STATE
IT. IT IS THE POLICY OF "A FRIEND WHO IS NOT RENEGING ON A
ALLIACE ANY MORE THAN DE GAULLE DID WHEN, DURING THE DRAMATIC CUBAN
MISSILE AFFAIR HE LET WASHINGTON KNOW THAT FRANCE WAS AT ITS
SIDE. IT IS THE POLICY OF A COUNTRY WHICH WANTS TO KEEP AN EVEN
BALANCE BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, OF A COUNTRY WHICH WANTS
TO USE FOR THE COMMON GOOD OF HUMANITY ALL THE EVENTUAL RESOURCES
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OF A FREE EUROPE SEEKING TO REACH THE BEST POSSIBLE UNDERSTANDING
WITH THE SOVIET UNION, EASTERN EUROPE, MEDITERRANEAN, AFRICAN
AND ARAB POWERS, AND CHINA; AND FINALLY, AS JOBERT SAID,
"IT IS A QUESTION OF DIGNITY."STONE

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